/39 cont./

769 571 867 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful part of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

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604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his 868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes 604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

847 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge 604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

848 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young-604 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of 828 land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

/40 cont./
and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

Another very important function also learnt from the uncle, although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

Also, in war he is on his relative's side, because, according to traditional Goajiro law, war unites the consanguineous relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

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868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

503 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country: /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty-six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: utshi pilichi – father of pilichi (ut – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (u)shi – father; pilichi – bucino). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as bucino (pilichi), tiger (kantire), pig (pirihi), wild cat (mulat), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (kaviat), brownish one (mutsachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pishi – your father; utshi – his father; ashi – her father; washi – our father; hashi – your (pl.) father; nashi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three sister-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Gonjiro SC13

611 604 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, usually on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblena man marries an Urisna girl; the children are Urisna. If one of these now should kill an Epicyn, for example, the whole caste of Urisna is at war with all the Epicyns, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. [572] If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other condition. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relatives demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. [946] Indians in employment receiving any damage the employer becomes liable; and so on. Whenever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

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THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, as organized as the Guajiro are into maternal clans. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

607 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

427 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
607 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his eldest sister's eldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

438 Hero is the eldest son of a man named Rafael Irving at Urbino,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina ch. Hero's
607 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Hero, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
(54) fixed and belongs to the middle class. Hero, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
(23) that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Goajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Hero's uncle who lives
(423) nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Hero is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pachano is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pachano has a son of his own and the present writer observed that many of Pachano's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

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as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. Pacheco informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Ilaro on one hand, and Paco, Pacheco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Ilaro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pacheco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pacheco shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pacheco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pacheco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

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604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is expected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride
(583) price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally individual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not prescribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments they have for each other. If there are other people around the nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticized, not only by his uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew, but by the rest of the company.

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The foregoing behavior pattern applies only in regard to a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son, nor between other uncles and nephews. There is no prescribed rule that either the father or the son must show respect for the other. They would not apparently be subjected to any public criticism at all should they be disrespectful, but in all cases where the present writer had occasion to see father and son together, there were always indications of respect to each other, especially by the son toward his father. That this behavior is not prescribed and that it is the result of regard or other factors is clear from the fact that the present writer was informed on several occasions while investigating this subject that there are cases in which father and sons who lack affection to each other would quarrel, even in public, without being criticized. The writer, however, did not personally witness any such cases. The same can be said regarding the conduct between an individual and his uncles other than his senior maternal uncle. Signs of respect are shown all along the line but this is not a prescribed rule. All information gathered on the subject by the writer points to the conclusion that the above pattern of conduct is prescribed between only senior maternal uncle and senior nephew; signs of respect toward the father or the other uncles are apparently shown only out of mutual affection or other personal motives. Public opinion censures any breach in the first case, while it disregards or is indifferent to any breach in the second case.

The following illustrative case throws some light on the situation. During one of the sessions held with Rafael, his son Ilaro was present and shortly afterward we were joined by Ilaro's senior maternal uncle. The moment the uncle stepped into the hut, Ilaro got up from his place and did not resume it until his uncle was well seated. All during the conversation prior to the coming of the uncle, Ilaro had been putting in remarks to the questions asked of his father and the latter did not seem to mind. After the uncle came in, although Ilaro's attention to what was going on did not falter, he restrained himself from making any further remarks and let his uncle make them instead. Only once did Ilaro make a remark, and this was only after

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607 593 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a length for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this proscribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Callejo, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly so much as toward Callejo. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

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unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

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604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole [428] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all 583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject [584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform [183] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is 584 the daughter of Ramoncito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

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or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

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(562) variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of
●604 Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticise her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Rammerin. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether
(562) because of the general backwardness of women in the Guajira, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was checked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay
(574) that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

6:Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle. 604

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community. 583 584 604 626

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew relationship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward 604

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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his other nephews is largely controlled by the degree of regard or affection that he has toward them individually.

As regards relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces, first, the uncle is the recipient of benefits derived from his nieces, largely in the form of the bride price, and he takes care to make a show of regard and concern for all of his nieces. Naturally, this does not imply that real affection or regard is non-existent. Second, the attitudes of the nieces toward their senior maternal uncle, although not so rigidly formal, are, nevertheless, respectful and considerate. Toward their other uncles, degree of regard or lack of it seems to be the only factor that controls the behavior.

We appear to be on safe ground in concluding that in the relations between a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew, public opinion is the dominant factor making for conformity with the behavior code. To this we may add regard, affection or other factors according to individual differences. The behavior between other uncles and nephews is largely controlled by personal regard or the lack of it.

In the relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces again we find that public opinion is the controlling element, with regard as an additional factor in individual cases. All other relations between other uncles and nephews are controlled seemingly by regard, affection and similar personal motivations.

Goajiro Terms of Relationship

We are appending here, not all Goajiro relationship terms, but only those that are directly or indirectly involved in the avunculate complex.

father	inné
mother	iti
senior son	iarée-ulutsi-iire
senior daughter	iarée-ulutsi-iiche
other sons	iarée-iire
other daughters	iarée-iiche
senior maternal uncle	iiraule-ulutsi-iti
senior maternal aunt	iiti-ulutsi-iti

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also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastised, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fancers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or ranchería) consists of related sib members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Guajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

Pr Santa Cruz E-5 (1954) 1960
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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Perrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sinkipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,